

ART. VII – *The medieval land use of Kentmere*

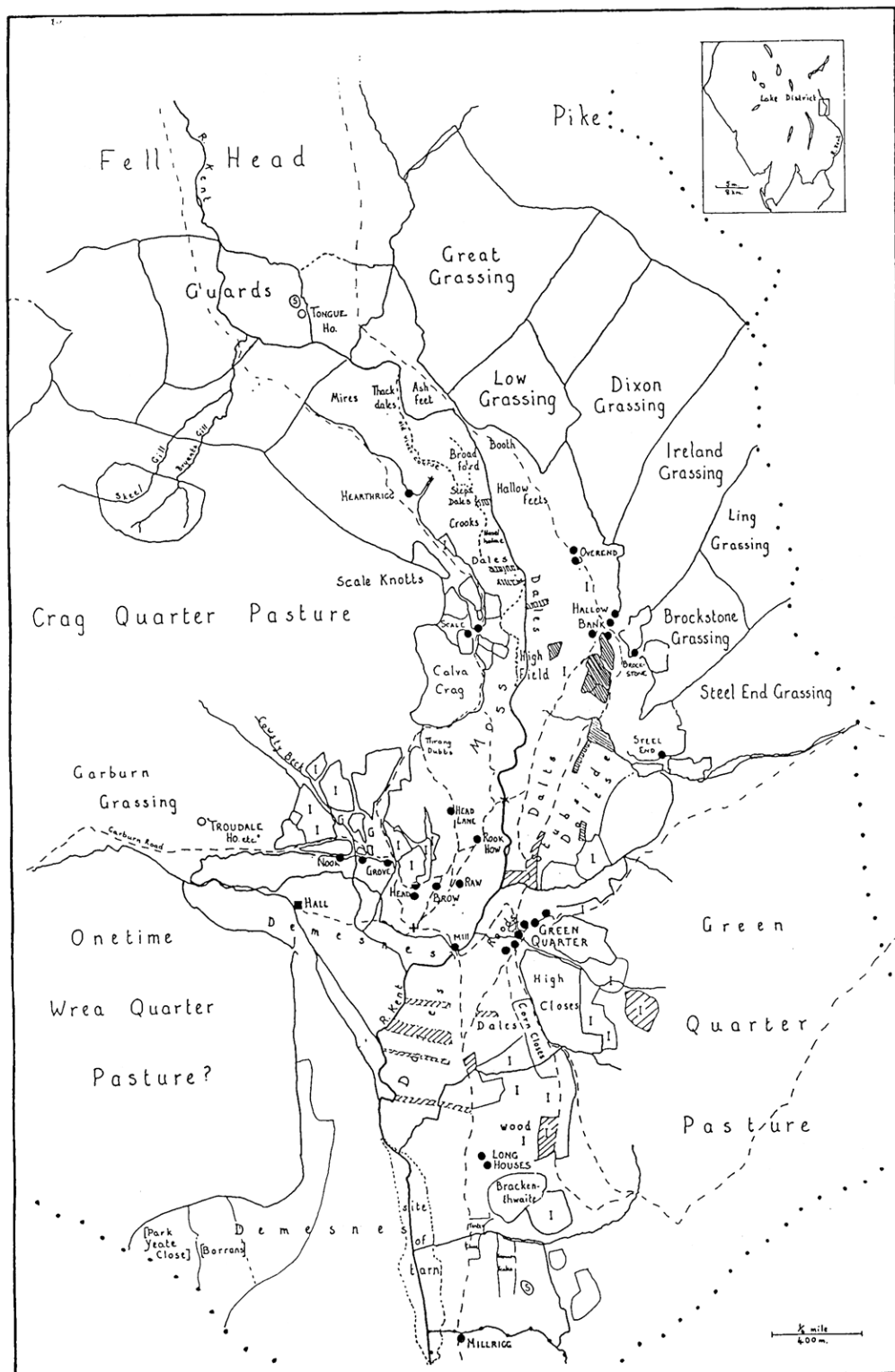
By M.A. ATKIN

THE names of fields and their distribution between land holdings in the township of Kentmere are recorded in the Kendal Corn Rent (KCR) Survey maps and schedules of 1834.¹ Although of recent date, this information can illuminate the meagre number of early records sufficiently to provide evidence of medieval land use in the township. Kentmere lies within the bounds of the notoriously rainy Lake District and, with steep slopes and relatively thin and stony soils, it is not surprising that the area is more suited to pastoral farming than to arable, but in eras when transport was poor the dale must have achieved some degree of self-sufficiency in arable crops.

The long but narrow township of Kentmere occupies the glaciated valley of Kentdale from the watershed on the High Street ridge at more than 2000 feet (750 metres) to the point where the dale narrows at Millrigg, a distance of about 7 miles (c. 10 km.) from north to south. The boundaries with Troutbeck on the west and Longsleddale on the east also follow watersheds, so that nowhere does the township exceed a width of 4 miles (c. 5 km.). It is divisible from north to south into three sections: the *dale head* which provides unenclosed common grazing for the farms of the whole township but has no permanent settlement today and may have seen no more than temporary settlement in the past 2000 years; the *upper dale* shared by the farms of Crag Quarter and Hallow Bank Quarter; and, below a rock barrier through which the river Kent tumbles in rapids and waterfalls, the *lower dale*, which is divided between Green Quarter and Wrea Quarter.

The river in the upper dale has been straightened and the valley floor is relatively well-drained good quality land, though lying at 750 feet O.D. (200 metres). The slopes mostly rise steeply above the flat floor, and like the dale head provide rough pasture, but in places a low bench widens to provide both settlement sites and more readily cultivable slopes. The settlements of Hallow Bank Quarter occupy such sites on the east side of the upper dale, and west of the river there are two outlying farm settlements, Scale and Hearthrigg, which in 1834 were part of Cragg Quarter.

After falling almost 200 feet (50 metres) as it passes through the rock barrier the river Kent broadens to form a lake fringed with marsh and reedbeds. This is the mere which names the dale. The farms of Green Quarter hold the eastern side of the lower dale. Here the lower slopes are less steep, and soils deeper and less stony than the upper dale, and it is probably the best land in the township. The upper slopes formed the huge, undivided and stinted Green Quarter Pasture in 1834. The mere and the land on the western side of it were part of Wrea Quarter, but as Kentmere Hall has been the only settlement in the Quarter for over 200 years, and all the land has been part of the demesne for even longer, it acquired the alternative names of Hall or Park Quarter. The lower slopes here form the demesne woods, above which is Kentmere Park, once the great stinted pasture for Wrea Quarter.



Settlements

The division of the township into four Quarters appears to be very ancient. The rock barrier and the line of the river divide the upper and lower dale sections into four parts, each Quarter's land remaining largely separate from those of the neighbouring Quarters. Within each part however, the land holdings of each Quarter's farms were still intermingled in 1834, and considerable areas of the valley floor and lower slopes were still held in unenclosed strips. Above the rock barrier on the eastern side of the dale the hamlet of Hallow Bank comprised five clustered farms in KCR, only one of which, High Pout How, was named. Brockstone lies closely adjacent and Steel (Stile) End some 400 yards (400 m.) further south. Further up the dale were the two farms of Overend.

In 1834 on the eastern side of the lower dale was the tightly nucleated "row settlement"² of Green Quarter. Here were seven un-named farms, much of whose land lay in intermingled strips mainly to the south of the rock barrier. Lying separately, but part of Green Quarter, were the two settlements at Long Houses and the Millrigg holding (the farmstead actually stood in Over Staveley), whose fields were mostly enclosed.

Cragg Quarter settlement (today, increasingly being known as Nook) held the western side of the upper dale above the rock barrier. It was made up of loosely scattered farms, often in pairs. Unlike Green Quarter most of the Cragg farms were named on the KCR map. Further up the dale there were two farms at Scale, and beyond them a single farm at Hearthrigg, with the deserted Tongue House at the head of the upper dale. On the Garburn Pass road west of Cragg settlement, was another deserted house, the site described in 1834 as "Troudale House etc." with no building of any sort shown on the map. There is what appears to be a small sheep fold today with walls standing to some three feet (1 m.). The name suggests that it might be associated with the Robert de Trouthale of 1332.³

In Wrea Quarter Kentmere Hall is dominant, and even in 1834 it stood alone, but in 1627 there were two houses called Bankehouses (some structures still remain there today) at the south-west end of the township and an unspecified number of houses nearby at Parke yeate⁴ whose rights in Wrea Quarter have presumably transferred to the Hall. A house site which was excavated by SEARCH in 1990 may be one of those referred to in 1760 when a man, aged 77 years, described "... ancient walls like house steads, and he hath heard an ancient woman say that her mother was born in one of them".⁵ This suggests that these habitations may have been deserted throughout his lifetime and perhaps for a generation of two before that. There was evidently a deliberate policy on the part of the holders of Kentmere Hall to clear Wrea Quarter of other settlements. This same witness said that each Quarter, including Wrea Quarter, had consisted of 15 ancient tenements, but three tenements had been taken from Wrea Quarter and transferred to Cragg Quarter, which therefore in 1750, "consisteth of 18 ancient tenements, and only Kentmere Hall (representing the remaining 12 ancient tenements) remaineth in Wrea Quarter". Thus the Hall had acquired all the rights of pasture in Wrea Quarter Pasture which was described in 1627 as the Park and was part of the demesne, so it was a policy that was evidently long established.

Settlement in the dale certainly goes back to the Roman period. British names survive in the river name Kent, and the hill name Pengennet above Cragg.⁶ There are "native"

settlements⁷ near to Tongue House and Millrigg, their proximity suggesting that other similar sites could lie obliterated below existing farmsteads. Since the dale runs more or less north to south the two principal hamlets, Green Quarter and Cragg Quarter, appear to be evenly matched in terms of aspect. Geologically Cragg is the less well-favoured, being hemmed in by very stony, boulder-strewn, steep hill land behind it, and very little stone-free land with easy gradients before the drop to the valley floor. By contrast Green Quarter has far less stony land and less severe gradients. Norse field and place-names are probably slightly more numerous than Anglian ones, but both are fairly evenly divided between the Quarters.

Roads and tracks

Crossing the township from east to west is what, in 1762, was called the “common and ancient. .King’s highway”, the Garburn Road,⁸ climbing from Troutbeck over the Garburn Pass⁹ (which Smith derives from *gara* and *burna*, meaning “stream in the gore of land”). This road, though now very rough, appears at one time to have been properly paved and neatly kerbed at cart-width, with well-placed stones and with culverts to carry streams beneath it. It drops steeply from the head of the pass at c. 1500 feet (c. 450 metres) to Cragg Quarter settlement, a thousand feet (320 metres) below. It crosses the Kent at Low Bridge, by the Mill, and a continuation climbs through Green Quarter settlement and over a relatively low route to Sadgill in Longsleddale, whence the relatively easy, and in 1717, “great road and public highway, very much used by travellers, drovers and others”,¹⁰ climbed over Gatescarth Pass and on to Penrith.

The field-name Bridge End Field a little further upstream indicates what was once probably the “high bridge” counterpart to the Low Bridge. Today it is a wooden footbridge, but the stone footings and substantial approach suggest that it was once a more impressive construction. It provided an alternative route, with less steep gradients, from Cragg Quarter to Steel (Stile) End,¹¹ the farm at the end of the pack-horse track which also leads to Sadgill.

In 1806 the route up and down the dale was described as “the King’s common highway leading from the market town of K(irkby) Kendal by way of Kentmere to the market town of Penrith”, presumably climbing over the formidably steep and high Nan Bield Pass at the head of the dale. Today metalled public roads come to a dead end at Hearthrigg and Hallow bank, having followed the eastern side of the river as far as Low Bridge, but in 1672 the route to Kentmere evidently took the western bank,¹² entering the township near Park yeate and passing through the Hall demesnes.

Pasture

An “Enquiry” in 1760 described the four huge, enclosed and stinted common pastures of Kentmere which may have been the basis for the division of the township into four “quarters”.¹³ Each ancient tenement held ten cattlegates; that is, each tenement could graze ten cattle on the enclosed stinted pasture of the Quarter to which it belonged. Each tenement also had the right of grazing eighty sheep on the unenclosed fell land at the

head of the dale.¹⁴ Field names, such as Gate House Crag (ON *geit*, for goat), Hogghouse (a hogg is a young castrate male sheep), and perhaps Swinsty (sty from ON *stig* means a path or track) on the approach tracks to Cragg Quarter Pasture suggest that pigs, goats and sheep could be pastured there. There was probably some form of conversion of the stint, so that sheep or other stock could be grazed on the Quarter Pastures in lieu of cattle, but it appears that the open Fell Head was restricted to sheep. These great Quarter pastures were probably already in existence by 1372, when there is a reference to "tenants at will who hold the herbage and several pastures of the dale, for 40 marks yearly rent, according to the ancient customs of the forest of Kendale".¹⁵ Change in the method of using these "several pastures" was probably very slight until these customary tenants were permitted to begin buying the freeholds of their tenements during the eighteenth century.¹⁶

Green Quarter Pasture (708 acres) was apparently still intact and wholly undivided in 1834, but Hallow Bank Quarter Pasture had been divided and some parts, such as, Brockstone and Steel End Grassings, had been assigned to individual farms, though grazings in Dixon and Ireland Grassings were still partly held in common. Cragg Quarter Pasture had been somewhat reduced by allotting parts of it to Hearthrigg and the two Scale farms. Wrea Quarter Pasture, as mentioned earlier, was held by the Hall, but it is possible that Garburn Grassing was once a part of Wrea Quarter Pasture, perhaps being carved off when the three ancient tenements were transferred from Wrea to Cragg Quarter.

Although Wrea Quarter Pasture as such no longer existed in 1834, and Kentmere Hall was the sole dwelling in the settlement, holding "96 grasses on Fell Head in right of Wrea Quarter", there was one other farmer who claimed grazing on Fell Head "in his right of Wrea Quarter". Presumably John Dixon claimed this right of Wrea Quarter for one or more of the five farms which he owned. His claim for "grassings on Fell Head and Pike in right of Cragg Quarter" were for the farms of Tongue House (a deserted house at the head of the upper dale) and Grove Farm, and these were presumably the basis of his claim for grazing in Cragg Quarter Pasture too. His claim in right of Hallowbank Quarter was presumably for his Overend farm. His two other farms were the deserted Troudale House, which stood in the large fell pasture of Garburn Grassing, and Nook (now demolished) which physically is part of Cragg Quarter. His claim of grassings in right of Wrea Quarter would therefore appear to be for either Nook or Troudale House, the latter by its siting appearing to be the more likely.¹⁷

In the Kendal Corn Rent schedules the rights of individual farms for grazings in these pastures were called "grassess", which appear to equate with "cattlegates". An entry for a farm in Green Quarter as "8 grasses in Green Quarter Pasture", and "8 grasses in Fell Head in right of Green Quarter", is fairly typical of the holding of many of the small farms, but some farms held as many as twenty grasses in the Quarter Pastures and a similar number of grasses on Fell Head. There were a dozen individuals who held no land in the township, but who owned grasses both in individual Quarter Pastures and on Fell Head. These variable figures arose, no doubt, through the freedom to buy and sell cattlegates separately from a farm once it had become freehold.¹⁸

The unenclosed common grazings at the head of the dale were distinguished in 1834 as Fell Head, at the dale head, and Pike, on the upper slopes of the eastern side of the dale above Hallow Bank. These grazings were mered and stinted and were claimed by right of

a farm's holding in one of the Quarters. William Birket who owned a farm in Green Quarter had "10 grasses in Green Pasture, and 10 grasses in his right of Green Quarter on Fell Head". Thomas Barrow, tenant of Thomas Pattinson at Hearthrigg and one of the farms at Scale, had "12½ grasses in Cragg Quarter Pasture, and 18 grasses in right of Cragg Quarter on Fell Head." Such figures for the number of grasses on the unenclosed pastures are of the same order as most of the other farms in the township apart from Kentmere Hall which held 96 grasses there "in right of Rea Quarter". Only four of the larger farms had grazing rights on Pike in 1834. Several of the smaller tenants had evidently been given grazings in Fell Head in lieu of their right to graze in Pike – William Bland, tenant at High Pout How, held 3½ grasses on Fell Head in his right of Pike."

In 1814 a conveyance associates with other common rights, that of "the privilege of eatage in the lanes"¹⁹ and this right was also recorded in the Kentmere Court Book in 1837 as "eatage in the Green Laws or Lanes" adjoining his house, outbuildings, garden and paddocks.²⁰ This is probably the reason why, by 1834, many of the wide greens, lanes and tracks with names like Cowsty, Swinsty and Rake (a track to the pastures) which honeycombed the settlements, had passed into private holding. It was such a happening which brought the complaint in 1760 that the King's highway to the Dalehead had been stopped up by the erection of a wall in Nook Gate.²¹

The right to cut peats for fuel in Cragg Quarter Cow Pasture is recorded in 1764 "as long as turfmoos remains undivided amongst owners when enclosed"²² and it was recorded in the Court Book as still undivided in 1837.²³ Peat-cutting was evidently regulated by specifying the number of fires which might be supplied. In 1796 Marrian Rigge, widow, was left Lurk House in Cragg Quarter "with peat house, garden and paddock and with liberty to get peats in Highfield, sufficient for one fire only",²⁴ and in 1814 Head Tenement was sold with right of turbary for two fires.²⁵ In addition to the peat rights in the common pastures there were also moss pieces or "parcels of peatmoos" in various peaty areas on the valley floor – in Scale Moss, in Dubbs Moss mentioned in 1767²⁶ probably part of Thrang Dubbs in 1834, and in the Thirty Cattels Moss below Calva Crag.

In 1592 three husbandmen of Green Quarter, claimed that 'they had always had the right to wade into Kentmyer Broadwater from the east side and cut down "bullrushes, seaves, tode pyppes, reades and grasse" for their own use.'²⁷ Presumably these reeds were to be used for thatching dwellings and outhouses. Another area called Thack dales beyond Hearthrigg suggests that here was another source of thatching materials. Turf sods may also have been used for roofing, and tenants had the right even in 1837 to get "stones, Fearn (?bracken) Fearn Turf, . . . and sods in the common pastures". The field-name Bracken Howe near Hearthrigg records another resource – dried bracken used for animal bedding. But a Brackenthwaite near Long Houses adjoins Tenter Field, and this may not have been available to the tenants, but may have once been part of a demesnal potash-producing unit associated with the lord of the manor's fulling mill in Ulthwaite.²⁸

Arable land

Neither the terrain nor the climate suggest that Kentmere's arable production would be other than minimal and largely designed to produce a near self-sufficiency of

human food. Oats are likely to have been the dominant cereal foodcrop, and bigg (northern barley) for beer, with beans, peas and some green vegetable crops. Kill Gill in Green Quarter may hint the existence of a corn kiln in the hamlet. These were also used in Norway as (sauna-type) bath-houses. Hemp, and perhaps flax, may have been grown in small crofts for fibres. Even in 1834 there were still areas of unenclosed strips, called dales (from *dal* a share), evidently survivals of common field farming in several parts of the township. High on the slopes of the valley south of Steel End farm is the area called Stubside Dales, still divided into unfenced strips. In spite of some effort at making terraces parallel to the slope (there are still-discernible traces of lynchets), it is still formidably steep, but nevertheless may well have provided a cultivable area in the past. By 1834 it was almost wholly held by the farms of Hallow Bank Quarter. Above the access road to Green Quarter from the south is another area of "dales", here running up and down the moderate slope, and shared in 1834 by several of the Green Quarter farms. Above them are several fields called Corn Close, and higher still a group called High Close. These were probably reclaimed from pasture or waste in that order, and look sufficiently free of stones and surplus water to suggest that here may be another arable area.

In Cragg Quarter the land is so fragmented by steep slopes and stony areas that it is difficult to identify any extensive area of common arable. Only over the ridge called Head are there hints of stone clearances which may have left a few areas of plough-strip width, and even these are of relatively short length. The inhabitants of Cragg Quarter may have had to cultivate patches so tiny that only hand tools could have been used. Even Wrea Quarter, the Hall holding, has only limited potential arable areas as the wooded slopes drop steeply on the west side of the dale to the edge of the mere. In Hall and Cragg Quarters there may have been an even greater emphasis than in Green and Hallow Bank Quarters, on other economies than arable.

Hay-meadows and summer grazing land

Eighteenth century deeds of properties in Cragg Quarter describe a number of areas west of the river in the upper dale as being part of the "common field called High Field". From north to south these were:- "dales in Broadford", Steps Rood, Hazel Holme, The Crooks, Dales, High Field, and Field Foot.²⁹ The "dales" were probably strips of meadow. On the east side of the river in the same section of the dale, there are several field names ending in "feet" such as Ash feet, Hallow feets (sic) and Starfoot, which was Starfit in 1734/5, from ON *fit*, a river meadow.³⁰ When plotted on the map it is clear that High Field occupied the floor of the valley north of the present footbridge, and extended up-dale at least as far as the moraine or rock ridge which forms low promontories jutting into the valley floor on each side of the dale. The low-lying gap between these two promontories is no doubt the "broad ford". It is possible that Steps Rood and Steps Close in the same vicinity refer to stepping-stones placed to help the traveller across this marshy valley bottom. Despite the nineteenth century improvements in drainage, High Field seems unlikely to have contained extensive areas of arable. More probably, the better areas were hay-meadows for winter fodder, with the lower quality grassland providing summer grazing. Nevertheless during the 1939-46 War some of the sandy patches here were ploughed, and produced satisfactory crops of oats.³¹

The occurrence in this area of the farm name Scale, (from ON *skali* meaning a shieling, or a group of shielings),³² a mile or so north of the main settlement, suggests that here may once have been a group of what in Norway are today called *home seters*. The word *skali* was probably used in the same way as *seter* to refer to one, or to a group, of huts which were permanent dwellings but were only temporarily in use. Although they were relatively close to the main settlement, and lay at a low altitude, the *home seter* served as a base for exploiting grazings which were too far from the main settlement for stock to reach daily. Such *home seters* might also serve as storage places for hay won at remoter hay-meadows. Where the altitude was not too great and winter conditions not too difficult, stock would stay on into the winter at, or in early spring return to, the *home seter* to utilize the stored fodder, moving later to yet higher and more remote *seters* as the summer advanced.³³ Each farm in the main settlement would therefore have a series of *seter* huts at further and further distances, and higher altitudes. Those which were highest and most remote were, of course, dominantly used for grazing rather than meadow. The existence of another Scale (a mountain grazing with several farmers' huts) may be implied at what was, in 1834, a privately owned enclosure called Braithwaite Grassing made round the headwaters of Skeel Gill, a name which Smith³⁴ says is derived from *skali*.

Other "scales" up the dale beyond Hearthrigg may have been sited near places where "Sheepfold" is marked on the modern 2½" O.S. map. One of these sites is at the dale head. Here there are several tiny enclosures and, close by, an ancient "Settlement". Below the reservoir, Whether Fold (sic for wether, a castrated male sheep) is marked, a name likely to indicate that the fold is a fairly old one. There is another sheepfold in Ullstone Gill, and one more below Rainsborrow Crag.

The hay-meadow and river grassland shares for Green Quarter lay south of the hamlet on the flat area of the valley floor which is divided into narrow strips. One or two of these are called "meadow", most are called "Dales" and there are two fields named Freere Ing (warped in 1834 to become Tree Ring). Ing from ON *eng* means meadow or pasture, and this was a Friar's, or a Friary's share of the valley floor land. Like the field called Priest Intack higher up the slope, it is certainly a medieval field name. The Priest Intack would be land "taken in" and improved from the waste or scrub to support the priest of St. Cuthbert's chapel in Kentmere, which was founded by the thirteenth century.

Here then through the Middle Ages was a community which exploited the resources of the dale much more efficiently than modern living requires, and whose principal economy rested essentially on pastoral farming. The stint permitted heafed flocks of almost 5,000 sheep³⁵ on the unenclosed pastures of Dalehead, and 150 cattle on each of the four great Quarter Pastures. The customary annual rent paid by the tenants in the eighteenth century was still paid in marks (thirteen shillings and fourpence) for a standard tenement of 10 cattlegates, a payment which may have remained almost unchanged from 1372 when the payment for the "several pastures" was 40 marks.³⁶ The wealth of the community in animals probably explains why the assessment of Kentmere for the King's Subsidy of 1332 was almost three times higher than that of either of the two Staveley townships, and greater than that paid by Heversham and Milnthorpe together.³⁷ It also suggests that Kentmere may have made not only a significant contribution to the leather and woollen industries of medieval Kendal, but perhaps also to the droving trade which was at that period re-establishing itself after the disruption of the Scottish wars.³⁸

Abbreviations

OE Old English.

ON Old Norse.

References

- ¹ The Kendal Corn Rent map and schedule for the township of Kentmere 1834. C.R.O.(K) WQR/C 9.
- ² B.K. Roberts, *Rural Settlement in Britain* (1977)
- ³ Robert de Trouthale is listed in the Lay Subsidy 1332. W. Farrer ed. J.F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale* (1923) i, 309. Dr. M. Gelling has kindly confirmed this probability.
- ⁴ *Ibid.* i, 303.
- ⁵ J.F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale* (1926), III 153–4.
- ⁶ I am indebted to Dr. M. Gelling for personal information on this place-name.
- ⁷ Note by W.M. Inglesfield, “A second settlement found at Kentmere”, in CW2, lxxii, 320–4. An addendum by Clare Fell suggests that both the Tongue House and Millrigg native settlements are probably Romano-British, dating to the early centuries A.D..
- ⁸ J.F. Curwen, (1926) *op.cit.*, iii, 197.
- ⁹ A.H. Smith, *The place-names of Westmorland* (Cambridge, 1965) i, 196.
- ¹⁰ J.F. Curwen, (1926) *op.cit.*, iii, 150.
- ¹¹ A.H. Smith, (1965) *op.cit.*, i, 168. Here Smith ascribes the *steel* names in Westmorland to OE *stigel*, a stile. In *English place-name elements* (1956) ii, 152, he also adds a meaning for *stigel* of “a steep ascent” on topographical grounds. Neither of these meanings are very apposite for a farm which stands at the end of the easily-graded ascent of the major track to Longsleddale.
- ¹² J.F. Curwen, (1926) *op.cit.*, iii, 158.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* 153–4.
- ¹⁴ Totals of stock: 150 cattle on each Quarter Pasture, and $4 \times 15 \times 80 = 4800$ sheep plus 20 sheep allowed to the “teller” of each Quarter, making a total of 4880 sheep on the open pastures at the head of the dale. The teller was the man responsible for regulating the grazings for each Quarter.
- ¹⁵ W. Farrer, ed. J.F. Curwen, (1923) *op.cit.*, i, 309.
- ¹⁶ C.R.O.(K) WD/PP. MS volume listing enfranchisements of the manor of Kendal, 1748–1770.
- ¹⁷ The mill yard by the Low Bridge is called Wray Fold in 1834, perhaps a hint that the watermill was once associated with Wrea Quarter.
- ¹⁸ A deed (C.R.O.(K) WDX/216) for Newhousefold or Headlane in 1764 records 6 grasses which belonged to the property and 4 more grasses acquired by an “exchange”. C.R.O.(K) WDX/475 records the purchase of “freehold cattlegates” in 1774. These are still traceable in the Kendal Corn Rent schedule as the 2 and 14 grasses on Fell Head held respectively by John and Michael Mattinson, who had inherited them from their father, and who held no other land in the township.
- ¹⁹ C.R.O.(K) WDX/216, Head tenement deeds, 1814.
- ²⁰ C.R.O.(K) WD/PP Court Book, 1837–48.
- ²¹ J.F. Curwen (1926) *op.cit.*, iii, 155.
- ²² C.R.O.(K) WDX/216 Newhousefold or Headlane deeds, 1764.
- ²³ C.R.O.(K) WD/PP Court Book, 1837–48.
- ²⁴ C.R.O.(K) WDX/216. Raw tenement deeds 1796.
- ²⁵ C.R.O.(K) WDX/216. Head tenement deeds, 1814.
- ²⁶ A conveyance of 1767 C.R.O.(K) WDX/216 listed with the deeds for Raw, Headlane and Wreakhow tenements.
- ²⁷ C.R.O.(K) ST/26 Deeds of Kentmere Hall 1337–1807.
- ²⁸ The manor and demesne of Ulventhwait was granted to Richard de Gilpin with liberty to erect a mill in 1272. (W. Farrer, ed. J.F. Curwen (1923) *op.cit.*, i, 317.) and in 1617 George Gilpin of Kentmere Hall was recorded as having held 8 messuages, a water grain mill, and a fulling mill in Ulthwaite, and 30 acres of land belonging to the capital messuage there. M.C. Higham, “Some evidence for 12th and 13th century linen and wool-textile processing” in *Medieval Archaeology* (1989), xxxiii. 38–52, has noted the association of the potash industry especially with demesnal textile manufacturing processes in the medieval period.

- ²⁹ C.R.O.(K) WDX/216, Deeds relating to Headlane, Raw, Rookhow (earlier Wreakhow), two tenements at Scales, and Hearthrigg.
- ³⁰ The late Mr. C.E. Black, farmer in Green Quarter, told me that in the 1939–46 War some land on the floor of the dale had been ploughed, and that it bore good crops of oats.
- ³¹ “Starfit” was listed as part of the holding of Raw tenement in 1734/5. C.R.O.(K) WDX/216.
- ³² The Old West Scandinavian element *skali* is discussed by A.H. Smith (1956) *op.cit.*, ii, 123; by I.D. Whyte and G. Fellows-Jensen in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (1985) eds. J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte; and by J. McDonnell ‘The role of transhumance in Northern England’ in *Northern History* (1988), xxi.
- ³³ A-B. O. Borchegrevink ‘The houses of the Norwegian “seters”: an analysis of local type variations’ in *Northern Studies No. 16*, (1980) 53–69 and *No. 17*, (1981) 9–26.
- ³⁴ A.H. Smith (1965) *op.cit.*, i, 168. Skeel Gill is closely adjacent to Bryant’s Gill where a building thought to be of early medieval date was excavated 1981–3. The site produced spindle whorls, whetstones, iron slags and artefacts, flints and a great deal of charcoal, as well as stone structures.
- ³⁵ A heafed or heaf-bred flock of sheep belongs to the particular area of fell on which they were bred and reared, and in a change of tenancy the core of the flock goes with the land. Records of flock sizes in early wills or probate inventories may therefore omit the heafed flock as not being in personal ownership.
- ³⁶ C.R.O.(K) WD/PP. MS volume listing enfranchisements of the manor of Kendal, 1748–1770. It is notable that the customary tenants holding a 10-cattle tenement still paid one mark, that is, thirteen shillings and fourpence, annually for their grazings rights in the eighteenth century, presumably paying 60 marks for the whole township (viz. fifteen 10-cattle tenements per Quarter). If the customary payment per 10 cattlegates remained the same it suggests that there may have been 10 ancient tenements per Quarter in the medieval period, rather than the 15 tenements of the eighteenth century.
- ³⁷ W. Farrer, ed. J.F. Curwen (1923) *op.cit.*, i, 319–20 and ii, 146.
- ³⁸ A.R.B. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (1952) II, fn.2.